

# WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1847.

## THE NEW "CONTINENTAL WAR."

How different the sensations excited by the term "Continental," as employed to describe the policy and the objects of the War in which the Nation now finds itself engaged, from those which filled every bosom when it was used to describe the War of our Revolution, "the Old Continental War," in which this brave young People staked every thing on earth in a struggle for the right of self-government! For the abstract right, too, for it could not be considered much more, where the imposition of the tax of a few pence a pound on tea by the natural parent Government was enough to blow into a flame the heat which had been growing up between the mother and the daughter. The crowning act of resistance, the Declaration of Independence, was not resorted to, however, until after the revolting Colonies had in vain exhausted peaceful opposition to the measures of the Government over the water; nor was it until remonstrance on one side was answered by hostilities on the other, that War and Independence were at once proclaimed—when, in the language of the great historian, "the soundest policy required that the war should no longer be a contest between subjects and their acknowledged sovereign." Out of that war we came with flying colors, and with a recognised National Flag, displaying the Stars and Stripes of the Thirteen States. On this Flag was borne, as its motto, no such vaunting phrase as "CONQUEST, ANNEXATION, DOMINION," but the homely and honest inscription, embodying at once the achievement of the Past and the hope of the Future, "AMERICA, COMMERCE, AND FREEDOM." Such was, even within our memory, the burden of all debate in the public councils, of the toast at the social table, of the song in the streets. It was borne aloft in processions, emblazoned on the signs of artisans and tradesmen, and pictured upon the working-man's tobacco-box. To rise from demonstrations so humble but yet so eloquent of the public sentiment as this last, we find substantially the same sentiments after a while enrolled in the Preamble to the Constitution under which we live; the objects for which that Constitution was ordained by the People being there declared to be, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Nor, in the discussions of the objects and enactments of that great Charter, comprised in the Debates in the Conventions, or the more reliable exposition by the authors of "The Federalist," is there to be found one word to authorize the belief that this Government was ever expected to make War for any other possible cause than to suppress insurrection at home, or to repel invasion from abroad. "Peace or War," said the framers of the Constitution, addressing the People, "will not always be left to our option; however moderate or unambitious we may be, we cannot count upon the moderation, or hope to extinguish the ambition of others." But Foreign War, as the means of aggrandizement, or as an exertion of force to accomplish any supposed political purpose, was never dreamed of by their philosophy. Their themes were the necessity of consolidating the Union, of encouraging commerce and the arts, and of securing an adequate revenue for the support of civil government. All their acts looked to these objects only. During the eight years of the administration of WASHINGTON, how sedulously that truly Republican President guarded the country from engaging in any War, either from the promptings of resentment or the seductions of sympathy, under circumstances much more trying than the present generation can plead for engaging in it, let history declare; and, when he withdrew from the high station which he had honored so much more than it honored him, among the lessons of wisdom which he bequeathed in his parting address to his countrymen, no one was more solemn or ought to be more enduring than this: "Observe good faith and justice to all nations! Cultivate peace and harmony with all! Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence." These are maxims which ought to be written in letters of gold on the front of the Capitol, and deeply engraven on the hearts of the People.

After an interval of fifteen years of peace succeeding the retirement from office of our first great President, the Government was, it is true, obliged to engage in a foreign war; but that was, as it has been with propriety entitled, a Second War for Independence. It was a contest for national existence. In the declaration of it, the People and Government of the United States adopted the only alternative to a craven surrender of its independence. For years we had seen, in effect, on the part of our adversary a state of war against us, and on our part a state of peace toward her. In advancing to meet the gigantic maritime power of Great Britain on her own element, whatever division of opinion may have existed at home as to the instant necessity, it must be admitted that on that occasion the United States exhibited to the rest of the world a sublime spectacle; that of a People resolved to place at hazard every thing dear to them, rather than submit with dishonor to accumulated, habitual, and unceasing wrong, from a nation of infinitely superior force on the element on which they were most assailable. By the blessing of Providence, this war was brought most happily to a close without any irreparable loss on either side, and Peace was welcomed with a joy corresponding to the reluctance with which war had been entered into. When, two years afterwards, just before retiring from the Chair of State, Mr. MADISON, under whose administration this war had begun and ended, addressed Congress for the last time in an annual Message, he expressed his joy at being able to read, as he thought, in the character of the American People, sure presages that the destined career of his country would exhibit "a Government which avoids intrusion on the internal repose of other nations, and which seeks, by appeals to reason and by its liberal examples, to infuse into the law which governs the civilized world a spirit which may diminish the frequency or circumscribe the calamities of war, and meliorate the social

and beneficial relations of peace;" a Government, in a word, said he, in conclusion, "whose conduct, within and without, may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions—that of promoting peace on earth and good will to man."

Such was also emphatically the policy of the administration of the Government which followed. During that period of the Revolutions in the Government of South America, President MONROE, with a cool head and firm hand, kept this Government steadily on its course of neutrality and friendly relations with all the foreign world.

Good faith and justice to all nations, peace and harmony with all—cardinal principles of the Revolutionary Presidents—the fruits of the Old Continental War—are, through long usage and the highest moral sanctions, as much a part of this Government as the most sacred of the guarantees of the Constitution, not excepting that of the freedom of religion, of the liberty of the press, or of the inviolability of contracts. This policy was respected, as it ever ought to be, during the Administration of Mr. ADAMS, the first President following the Revolutionary race. The Administration of President JACKSON began by a profession of the same policy, and ended with attempts to get us into war with two nations, in both of which, by God's will, he was defeated through the instrumentality of the Press and the sound sense of the People. The Administration of Mr. VAN BUREN was, in regard to our Foreign Relations, almost unexceptionable; the legacy of a hopeful quarrel with Mexico, left to him by the gentleman whom he termed "his illustrious predecessor," having for a few months been kept up for show, but quietly adjusted as soon as it could be done without offending Gen. JACKSON. The Administration of President TYLER ended by leaving to his successor, as the consequence of his departure from the policy of non-intervention in Foreign politics so wisely observed by the great statesmen who had preceded him, a state of things, of which the present Administration has availed itself to make the territories of a neighboring Republic the theatre of a bloody and desperate War, waged with it by the United States.

How and when the existing War with Mexico broke out—the most indulgent phrase we can think of to express the way in which we got into it—our readers are by this time sufficiently informed; although at first its advent was so sudden as to surprise those who knew most about it, and even the President himself, who, in his first communication to Congress, informed them that it was begun by the act of Mexico in shedding American blood on American soil; a pretext which, having answered its end, has been so utterly discarded that neither in the Proclamations issued by the Executive to the Mexican nation, nor in its official communications to the Government of that country, has it been so much as hinted at.

Divers other causes and objects of this War have, as we have heretofore shown, been since alleged, from time to time, by the Administration, in its public acts, and through its recognised organs. Of these officially avowed motives for the War the latest is that of Political Necessity and Continental Policy, which we brought forward more particularly to the notice of our readers in an article in our paper of the 12th instant. In the notice of that article by the government paper, its length has been much complained of. Long as it was, however, we had not room to carry out, as it deserved, the parallel between this War, on its now avowed ground, and the remarkable event in European history to which it bears the greatest resemblance and has the most striking analogy. That unfinished task we now resume.

We should not prosecute further this inquiry into the merits of the War, were it possible for the Mexican leaders so far to misunderstand the Press of this country as to suppose its design, in the freest examination of the subject, to be any other than to impress the People of our own country with a just idea of the objects for which their President has sent thousands upon thousands of his fellow-citizens to find graves in Mexico, and has mortgaged the public faith by involving the country in a debt already of untold millions. As for Mexico, her leading men are too well informed of the relation of the Press to the Government of this country, too well read in our history, and too conversant with the usages of war, not to know that, whilst war exists between that country and the United States, it must equally exist between the people of the two countries; that the Press exercises no direct influence on the Government; and that it is through the ballot-box only that a change of policy on the part of this Government (unless by treaty with Mexico) can be hoped for.

We do not feel ourselves at all restrained from the freest expression of our views on this subject by another objection which has been raised to it, viz. that a peace is probably at hand. Peace, itself, however soon concluded, would be no reason for suspending the discussion, much less for entirely suppressing investigation into matters which it is of the highest consequence that our readers should thoroughly comprehend.

We therefore again ask the attention of our readers to the extraordinary doctrine, first shadowed forth in the Proclamation which was prepared by the Executive for Gen. TAYLOR, but presented in the Proclamation of Gen. SCOTT, equally an act of the Executive, in a direct and tangible shape. We again cite the text of Gen. SCOTT's Proclamation, and this time from an authorized version of it, which had not reached us when we before remarked upon it:

"Considerations of high policy and of CONTINENTAL AMERICAN INTERESTS precipitated events, in spite of the circumlocution of the Cabinet at Washington. This Cabinet, suddenly desiring to terminate all differences with Mexico, spared no efforts compatible with honor and dignity. It cherished the most flattering hopes of attaining this end by frank explanations and reasonings, addressed to the judgment and prudence of the virtuous and patriotic Government of General HERRERA. An unexpected misfortune dispelled these hopes, and closed every avenue to an honorable adjustment. Your new Government disregarded your national interests, as well as those of Continental America, and yielded, moreover, to foreign influences the most opposed to those interests—the most fatal to the future of Mexican liberty, and of that republican system which the United States hold it a duty to preserve and to protect. Duty, honor, and dignity placed us under the necessity of not losing a season of which the national party was fast taking advantage. As not a moment was to be lost, we acted with a promptness and decision suited to the urgency of the case, in order to avoid a complication of interests which might render our relations more difficult and involved."

The origin of this War, then, was not the shedding of American blood on American soil; nor is its cause to be found in any one of the pretences

so laboriously and ostentatiously detailed in the Message of the President informing Congress of the existence of this War of His, and also in his last Annual Message; nor was this country involved in war by the act of Mexico. No: the war was made by the Executive, as now avowed—and without even consulting Congress, though then in session, and whose province, and not the President's, it was to act upon the subject—because, in the opinion of the Executive, "not a moment was to be lost," "the urgency of the case" requiring such "promptness and decision." But this usurpation of the Legislative power by the Executive, great as its criminality is, of less consequence, in almost every point of view, than the principles and the grounds on which it is attempted to be justified to Mexico—grounds yet false in themselves, but which would not have been any more tenable had they been true—and principles directly and openly at war not only with the principles of the Revolution, but with the equally venerated established policy of this People and their Government.

The ground taken in this Proclamation is, that, under color of certain high-sounding phrases, such as "high policy," "continental interest," "duty, honor, and dignity"—phrases which, in the connexion that they are used, have no more meaning than any other form of Abracadabra—the United States had a right to invade Mexico, and with fire and sword to compel her to surrender her territories into our keeping as a pledge for her moulding her form of government to suit our own, and adapting also her internal policy to our will and pleasure. The pretence for the exertion of this right, at this time, is, that our "Cabinet" had taken it into its head that there was "a monarchical party" in Mexico, which was likely, without our interference, to gain the ascendancy in her councils. That this pretence was as false as any other that has been alleged for the existing war adds nothing to the enormity of the outrage against public law and public faith, of which this Administration has been guilty, in undertaking this war on the grounds which it has avowed to the world in the Proclamation of the General commanding our invading army.

These grounds there might be some hope that the Executive would disavow as unauthorized by it, and purge themselves of the contempt for the Constitution and the Laws of Nations which they manifest, were it not now so obvious that the Proclamation prepared by the Executive for Gen. TAYLOR, though not so bold and explicit in its avowals, in reality embraces the same principles and covers the same objects as that which bears the honored name of SCOTT, that no disclaimer would now avail it.

The pretext, or claim of right, upon which, without any lawful authority whatever—without any warrant either in the Constitution or in Natural or Conventional Law—by the mere right of the strong over the comparatively weak—the Executive has undertaken this conquest and subjugation of a neighboring Republic, has hardly a parallel in the modern history of nations. The case of the Bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet by the British Government comes the nearest to it, but falls short of it, because that had the plausible pretext of a real necessity arising out of the duty of self-preservation; Great Britain being then engaged in a battle for life with Napoleon in the south of his power, and having, as she said, reason to suppose that Napoleon intended to obtain possession of the Danish Navy for the purpose of matching France with England as a maritime Power, and thus making himself master of the world.

Of the odious transaction, the Bombardment of Copenhagen, we have already given Baines's account; but that which we find in Belsham's Memoirs of George III. is so much more clear, being brief besides, that we think our readers will excuse us for placing his narrative before them entire, as follows:

"Possessed with the alarming suspicion, not founded on any substantial grounds, that the secret articles of Tilsit laid the foundation of a maritime combination against Britain, to which Denmark would be compelled to accede, the most vigorous measures of counteraction were resolved upon. Of this design some intimation had been given in the King's speech at the close of the session; and a powerful fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, with the usual accompaniments of frigates and smaller vessels, had been fitted out, with transports for an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart. On the 12th of August (1807) Mr. JACKSON, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Denmark, arrived at Copenhagen. His instructions were to represent to the Prince Regent the motives and apprehensions of the British Government, and to use every argument to induce him to acquiesce in the necessity of yielding to the measure he had to propose. This was no less than the delivery of the entire Danish navy into the possession of Britain, under a solemn engagement to restore the same at the conclusion of the war; and to this demand an instant and categorical answer was required, in default of which hostile operations would forthwith commence.

"The astonishment of the Prince was inexplicable; but as not a gun was mounted on the ramparts of Copenhagen, or scarcely any military force in Zealand, he attempted to avert the blow by the most solemn protestations of adherence to the neutrality which he had uniformly professed. But the British Minister answered only by the demand of passports, and was received on board the fleet, then at anchor near the port. This drew forth a memorable declaration from the Danish Government."

"The army, which landed August 16th, was soon joined by the troops from Stralsund, and the

"The Declaration of the Danish Government, referred to by BELSHAM, is a document of so much dignity and power, and withal embodies a train of thought so applicable to the political necessity which it is now declared detailed the invasion of Mexico, that it is a substitute for any argument of ours upon the case immediately before us, we copy it, for the information of our readers, from the British Annual Register for the year 1807:

"All Europe is acquainted with the system which Denmark has followed, during a period of fifteen years of war and disturbance, with unceasing perseverance. The rigid observance of a free and impartial neutrality, and the conscientious fulfilment of all the duties belonging thereto, have formed the object of all its wishes and all its efforts. The Danish Government, in its relations and connections with other States, has never lost sight of that simplicity which was inseparable from the purity of its sentiments and its love of peace, and which it could not be suspected of having once changed or debilitated. Hitherto Providence has blessed our undertakings. Without injuries, without any ground of reproach from any other Powers, we succeeded in keeping up a good understanding with the whole of them. This state of peace and tranquillity is suddenly annihilated. The English Government, after having long neglected its own interests by a shameful inactivity, and after having betrayed its allies into a vicious and uncertain struggle, has suddenly discovered the character and activity to attack a neutral and peaceable State, without any complaint against a neutral. The means for dissolving the un-

Danish capital was invested by land and sea. A considerable military force having by this time assembled in Zealand, Sir Arthur Wellesley was detached to oppose its progress; and in a sharp encounter the Danes were defeated, with the loss of near 1,200 men, including sixty officers. No overtures being made on the part of the besieged, and no impression produced by the summons sent by the besiegers, the bombardment of the city commenced, September the 2d, with such tremendous effect as to threaten a general conflagration. The cathedral, many public edifices, and four hundred private houses were destroyed, besides a far greater number materially damaged, with the sacrifice of not less than 2,000 lives. The flames were kept up in different places till the evening of the 5th, when the commander of the garrison, in order to prevent the consummation of ruin, sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice. The articles of surrender being speedily settled, the British troops took possession (September 8) of the city and citadel. The Danish navy, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates and smaller vessels, were delivered, under an engagement, on the part of the British commanders, to evacuate the isle of Zealand in six weeks. Towards the close of October, the victors returned from their expedition, and entered the harbor of Portsmouth in triumph with the captured Navy of Denmark. But this extraordinary spectacle was not hailed by any shouts of gratulation. This was a victory which caused no exulting emotions. The long glories of Britain disclaimed an association with such an exploit; and the question was pointedly asked, 'What words would have been strong enough to express the national abhorrence, had this been the act of the blood-stained tyrant of France?'

We have no need to remind our elder readers of the sensation which this violence perpetrated upon Denmark produced all over the world, nor of the special abhorrence in which it was held in this country. But, for the information of our younger friends, it may not be uninteresting to state that Mr. JACKSON, the British Commissioner, whose name was so identified with it as to cause him to be familiarly known as *Copenhagen Jackson*, was, about two years after his trip to Denmark, sent to this country in the capacity of Envoy Extraordinary, after the rejection, by his Government, of an arrangement made at Washington by Mr. ESKKIN, its resident Minister, for the temporary quieting of differences between the two countries. The appointment of Mr. JACKSON, fresh from Copenhagen, to be a Minister to this Government, produced some irritation, accompanied by great distrust, among the people, as to the intentions of his Government towards this country. He was received, nevertheless, by Mr. MADISON and his Administration with the respect due to his commission. But he had been a few days only in communication with Mr. ROBERT SMITH, then Secretary of State, before it was thought necessary by our Government to require his communications to be confined to written form; and it was only a week or two afterwards that his language in correspondence became so offensive that Mr. MADISON directed his communication with this Government to be closed, and his Government was requested to recall him. Whatever was his object here, he gained no advantage over this Government, and perforce withdrew from his mission. When Congress met, some weeks afterwards, the correspondence and its result were communicated to them. A resolution was introduced in the Senate by Mr. GILES, pledging to the Executive the support of Congress in any consequences of its course in dismissing Mr. JACKSON. In that body only one speech was made on the resolution, which was by Mr. GILES, who only incidentally alluded to the Copenhagen expedition as an "abominable" transaction. But in the House of Representatives the resolution was more widely debated, and no secret made of the sentiment excited by the appointment as Minister to this Government of one so recently a party to the slaughter of Copenhagen and the spoliation of Denmark. Mr. JOHN W. EPPES, especially, the son-in-law of Mr. JEFFERSON, and deservedly high in the confidence of Mr. MADISON and the Republican party, supporting the resolution, said, that if the offensive language of the British Envoy could be considered as the result of accident or inexperience, it might be overlooked, or, at least, treated with indulgence: "But [said he] who is Mr. JACKSON? No young stripling with a character to form. He is already a conspicuous character; his fame, to use an expression of Pindar, has ascended to the skies in curling smoke. He will be as well known in history as Arnold, or any other conspicuous character. In Denmark he professed peace to the Govern-

ment and sacred connexions which united Denmark to Great Britain, and he prepared with as much secrecy as promptitude. The Danish Government saw the English ships of war upon their coast, without even the conjecture that they were to be employed against Denmark. The island of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territory violated and injured, before the Court of London had made use of a single word to express hostility of its feelings. This hostility, however, soon became evident: Europe will with difficulty believe what it will hear. The basest, the most violent and cruel object which could ever have been taken up, has no other foundation than some pretended information, or rather that of mere rumor of an attempt, which, according to the English Minister, was to have taken place, in order to draw Denmark into a hostile alliance against Great Britain. Upon these pretended grounds, which the least degree of discussion would immediately have shown as being founded upon arbitrary measures alone, the English Government sent an expedition to Copenhagen, in the most impetuous manner, that in order to secure its own interests and to provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war or a close alliance with Great Britain. And what kind of alliance did they offer? An alliance, the first guaranty of which, as a pledge of the submission of Denmark, was to have delivered up all her ships of war to the British Government. There could be no hesitation as to the alternative that was to be adopted. This opening being made, as scandalous in its offers as in its measures—as offensive in the manner as in the thing itself—left no room for negotiation. The most justifiable and most dignified naturally absorbed every other feeling. Placed between danger and dishonor, the Danish Government had no choice. The war commenced: Denmark was by no means blind to the dangers, to the losses, with which she was threatened by this war. Attracted in the most unexpected and dishonorable manner, exposed in a separate province, and in a manner cut off from all the means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she could not flatter herself with expecting a very material injury. Unspotted honor, however, still remained for her to defend, as well as that reputation which she had earned as the price of her upright conduct. Denmark, therefore, flatters herself that, on the part of the Powers of Europe, she will not appeal in vain. Let impartial Cabinets judge whether England was under the political necessity of sacrificing another State without hesitation to her own safety: a State which had neither offended nor provoked her. Depending upon the justice of her cause, trusting in Providence, and in the love and loyalty of the people to a Prince whose mild sceptre, under Providence, is exercised over a united, brave, and faithful people, the Danish Government flatters itself that it will be able to acquit itself without weakness of the painful task which has been imposed upon it by necessity. The Government of Denmark believes it has a right to reckon upon the interest and justice of the Cabinets of Europe, and they particularly hope for the effects of the same on the part of those illustrious sovereigns whose objects and alliances have served the English for a pretext, and to give a color to the most crying act of injustice, and whose object is to offer to England the means of making a general statement for an act of violence, which, even in England, every noble and generous mind will disown; while Denmark, the victim of a virtuous Sovereign, and will ever remain a scandal in the annals of Great Britain."

ment, and made war on the people; here he has changed his system: to use the language of the gentleman from Connecticut, he has made war on the palace, and professed peace to the people. While he grasped with inviolable friendship the hand of the Crown Prince, the lawless banditti he headed sacked the city, and bore off in triumph the Danish fleet. While this transaction shall remain on the records of history, the character of Mr. JACKSON will find a conspicuous place in the annals of fame."

This strong language, from the leader of the Republican party in the House of Representatives, shows what was the public feeling in this country in regard to the affair of Copenhagen; and the language of Representatives of opposite politics on the same subject was not less clear and decided. "Whatever was their view," said Mr. Wm. MILNOR, of Pennsylvania, (referring to the British Ministry,) they were very unhappy in their choice. "They chose a man once objected to, if I am rightly informed, by our Minister in London, (Mr. KINCAID,) as unacceptable to the American people. They chose a man conspicuous in a transaction which was one of the basest in the annals of the world: a man sent to Denmark to negotiate with a fleet and army at his heels, and who immediately, on failure of compliance with his demands, set his fleet and army upon the nation which had preserved a uniform neutrality, resisted an alliance with either belligerent, and given the British Government no plea for the attack. I do not charge this upon Mr. JACKSON as his fault, or say that he is accountable to the world for the transactions which followed the negotiation at Copenhagen; but, as the Minister who was the precursor of that horrid transaction, prejudices had arisen against him which incapacitated him from negotiating to advantage with a neutral nation."

The feeling which thus disclosed itself in the Halls of Congress was fully participated in by the Press and the People. The Richmond Enquirer, then a leading Republican paper, denounced as infamous the whole transaction at Copenhagen. In *Rel's* Gazette of December 20, 1809, we lately met with an Address to FRANCIS JAMES JACKSON, &c., (after his rejection by this Government,) of the spirit of which, and of the prevailing sentiment of this People at the time, the following extract will serve to give the reader some idea:

"Your nomination created some suspicion and much clamor. Peremptorily refusing to ratify the terms proposed by one Minister, after they had been accepted and effectuated on our part, recalling and disgracing that Minister, and appointing another who has been used to treat with fleets at his heels, were not indications of a very friendly disposition on the part of England. Notwithstanding these omens, the mass of the American nation prepared to accredit you as one of the most distinguished members of that corps which in the States of Europe is as regularly trained, formed, and distributed as armies and navies—aware that you were yet reeking from the discharge of a most detestable duty at Copenhagen, but hoping that your employment on several such exigencies was rather in the course of your vocation than optional, and that the fame of such achievements preceding you here would have the effect rather to soften than aggravate your tone," &c.

With the recollection of such a sentiment pervading the breasts of men of all parties of the United States upon the occasion of this wrong done to a gallant people, not only unoffending but unconsciously trusting to its treaty of amity with the aggressor, what a flush of burning shame must not come over the cheek of every man with a true American heart, affording his own country so far fallen off from its high sense of honor and its nice perception of right and wrong, as that the Administration of its Government shall dare to avow, as a rule of action for itself, the detestable morality of the expedition against Copenhagen!

The Proclamation bearing the signature of Gen. SCOTT is commended as highly *politic* in reference to its object, and as having had a very favorable influence on the People of Mexico. This, if true, as being so reported, it may be, is only a confirmation of the known total dissimilarity of the character and habits of the population of Mexico to those of the people of the United States, who would perish in the flames of their homes rather than endure such arrogant assumption by any foreign Power of a right to treat them as it would only treat a horde of brutified barbarians. Nor does the alledged popularity of the Proclamation among the rancheros and mulattoes of Mexico relieve either it or the corresponding Manifesto prepared for Gen. TAYLOR from any part of its odiousness or its utter incompatibility with our own institutions, and with the respect which is due from this People to the Independence and the Sovereignty of all other nations. No temporary advantage to be hoped from it could excuse the promulgation to the world of such principles as being those of the U. States, its Government, or People.

Before we take leave of the affair of Copenhagen we cannot resist the temptation to show how very naturally—when men engage in enterprises of lawless violence, or in those whose legality and justifiableness they themselves have no confidence in—they fall upon like expedients to excuse them, and like language to palliate their enormity. We have before us, in the same volume of the Annual Register which we have already quoted, the Proclamation issued by the British Commanders of the naval and military forces sent against Copenhagen, after landing the troops and when about to bombard the town. "One would almost swear that the author of the Taylor Proclamation, which is especially known to be the act of the Executive, had had access to it."

As a material part of the history of this transaction, and as a model for all imitators of this British pattern, it will not be without some use to insert this Proclamation at large. So, being at hand, we copy it:

"Proclamation issued on the sixteenth of August, at Zealand, by Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, Commanders-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, engaged in the expedition."

"Whereas the present treaties of peace and the changes of government and of territory, accorded to by so many Powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression to take measures to prevent the arms of neutral Powers from being turned against them:

"In view, the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and his Majesty has sent negotiators with ample powers to his Danish Majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the time require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the further mischiefs which the French meditate, through the acquisition of the Danish navy."

"The King, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore judged it expedient to devise the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports."

"This deposit seems to be so just and so indispensably necessary, under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent Powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself and to his people to support this demand by a

cess to this British Proclamation, and borrowed even its particular phrases. As objects of comparison, and remarkable coincidences, for example, take the following passages from each:

The Taylor Proclamation.	The British Proclamation.
We come to obtain reparations, &c.	We come, therefore, inhabitants of Zealand, not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe, &c.
We come to make no war upon the People of Mexico.	The persons of all those who remain at home and do not take a hostile part, will be held sacred.
Property of your churches and citizens shall be protected and remain inviolate.	Property will be protected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced.
We shall want nothing, but food for our army, and for this you shall always be paid, in cash, the full value.	Every article of supply furnished or brought to market will be paid for at a fair and settled price, &c.

What effect these disclosures of the ambitious views of the Executive, prosecuted without regard either to the National Welfare or the Will of the People, may have upon the Mercantile and Maritime interests of the seaboard, which have hitherto shown an alarming insensibility to successive usurpations of power by that branch of our Government, we know not. But we have the satisfaction of believing that the Press and the People in the interior, North, East, West, and South, do read and understand; are wide awake to the change that is going on in this Government from a Republic in form to a Monarchy in fact; and will in due time administer an effective remedy, in the mode prescribed by the Constitution itself. We are strong in the faith that, if we live to see the next Presidential Election, we shall have the satisfaction of welcoming at the Capitol a President to whom the Constitution will be the measure of his power, and the Law his rule of conduct; and who will repair, as far as in him lies, the breaches in both which his immediate predecessor will have made.

If we were not sustained by this hope and expectation, we should, indeed, begin to entertain serious apprehensions for the duration of our Republican Government, even in form. Upon what principles it was founded and has been hitherto administered, we have briefly shown in the preceding part of this article. To what complexion it has already come, we have seen in the review which we have made of the incongruous pretences under which the present war was undertaken, and has been hitherto prosecuted, and of the new ground, co-extensive with the Continent of America, which is now declared to be the foundation of the war. The Executive has gone on, alleging one cause after another for the invasion of Mexico, until at last it has avowed one, which is not only repugnant to the whole scheme, policy, and history of this Government, but will, whilst it arouses against us the jealousy of every nation of this Continent, weaken our hold upon the respect and confidence of the civilized world, acquired by the just and wise foreign policy, coeval with the Constitution, of neutrality and non-intervention. For the loss of that confidence and that respect, no territorial aggrandizement, the result of an opposite policy, could in any degree compensate us.

Already, by no fault of the General Government, but through the indiscretion of several individual States, the United States have lost, in the eyes of Europe, much of the respect which they have heretofore enjoyed. "The commercial and financial delinquencies of some of the States," says an intelligent American traveller, "have created a universal impression, throughout Europe, of utter want of faith, honor, and integrity on the part of the whole nation. It is the most difficult thing in the world to make these people understand the complex movement of the Federal and State Governments, &c. It is impossible to make them understand it; the General Government appears to them responsible for the State insolvencies." If we have lost so much of the esteem of the people of the several States of Europe through the breaches of

powerful fleet and by an army supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprise.

"We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe, from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us."

"We ask deposit, we have not looked to capture; so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your Government, and is hereby renewed in the name, and at the express command of the King, our master, that if our demand for satisfaction is not complied with, we shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment, as when received under the protection of the British flag."

"It is in the power of your Government, by a word, to avert our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads and those of your cruel advisers."

"His Majesty's seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as you conduct to them with permit it on the footing of a province of the most friendly Power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war."

"The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take a long part, will be held sacred."

"Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced."

"Every article of supply furnished or brought to market will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provisions, forage, fuel, and transports are required, it is to be known that requisitions are unavoidable and must be deferred."

"Much convenience will arise to the inhabitants and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom claims for payment may be settled and liquidated."

"If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them, through the proper channels and departments of the navy and army; but, as forbearance on the part of the inhabitants is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations; and any persons or other persons found in arms, singly or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with rigor."

"The Government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warlike attitude; but it is yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard."

"Given in the Sound, under our hands and seals, this 16th day of August, 1807." [Signed as above.]

We append to the Proclamation the noble reply made by the Danish Commander to the summons to deliver up the Danish fleet, as the alternative to the shedding of innocent blood and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital:

"My Lords: Our fleet, our own indispensable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty's hands as it can be in those of the King of England, as our master never intended any hostility against yours. If you are cruel enough to endeavor to destroy a city that has not given any the least cause for such treatment at your hands, it must submit to its fate; but honor and duty bid us to reject a proposal so becoming an independent Power, and we are resolved to repel it, and every attack, and defend to the utmost the city and our good cause, for which we are ready to lay down our lives."

"PIEMAN, Commander-in-Chief of his Danish Majesty's land forces."